Mu
648 It produces excellent rubber in large quantities, and the
797 provinces of Pará and Amazonas owe the rapid development of
439 their export and import trade to this commodity.

Rubber sells on the Pará market for $1.50 to $2.00 a kilogram; the Tapajoz alone yearly exports some 150,000 kilograms of it, and this amount would be larger if there were sufficient manpower to gather all the natural resources of the soil. The
Ma 249 district also produces guaraná, a highly precious commodity of
278 acknowledged medicinal worth.
439

The Maué Indians alone cultivate this plant and prepare the product, which they usually make into cylindrical loaves, sometimes, however, they mold it into the shape of animals native
Ma [532] to the region, such as tapir, snakes, turtles and others, lending to this task considerable intelligence and artistic taste.

Ma Guaraná sells on the Pará market for $4 to $5 a kilogram;
[435] and in Mato Grosso, where it is in great demand, the price is four times higher.

Each crew member of the canoes that sail in those parts takes a guaraná decoction every morning and even several times a day as a fever preventive. The results are positive.

Mu The district also furnishes copaiba oil, sarsaparilla, [147]
439 and other natural products which are priced high and esteemed greatly on all markets.

On this very day I find the following notice in a reputable newspaper of the capital of Pará [Belém]:

"Indians -- Sixteen Mundurucu Indians from the Mission of Bacabal, accompanied by their chief, have arrived in this capital to appear before the Presidency and to promote the sale of 292 arrobas (over 4,000 kilograms) of rubber.

"The chief's attire and the face paintings of these Indians have attracted public curiosity."

Commerce on the Upper Tapajoz is carried out by tradesmen known as regatões [hucksters or traders], who appear in those parts in small canoes loaded with goods during the summer months and the rubber harvest. Navigation through the falls is difficult
Mu [505] and risky; it is often necessary to unload the canoe and carry the burden on land for several kilometers; then the canoe in turn has to be carried and reloaded; and farther on the whole procedure

439 is repeated, with the additional danger of foundering on one of
505 the innumerable rocks which obstruct the course of the stream. To this must be added privations, fevers, and possible attack by fierce Indians such as the Parintintin. Some of these peddlers, setting out from Itaituba, course upriver through the region for a month and sometimes two.

They find no one to trade with but the Mundurucu and a few Maué savages, who go naked or nearly naked, who have not the slightest notion of our language, of our alphabet, of our system of weights and measures, or of the current price of the goods they sell and the commodities they purchase.

Incredible as it may seem, the traders sell on credit [148] to savages who own no capital other than a hatchet to bleed the rubber trees, commodities which add up on running accounts to such enormous figures as 5, 6 or 7,000,000 reis or even more! Possibly every Indian in those parts is indebted to a considerable extent. When asked how much they owe, these Indians always reply: "Who knows! Only the patron can tell!" They always call their creditor "patron" [patrão].

439 The trader, himself a creditor [sic], regards his Indian
648 debtors as serfs: as best suits his needs, he sends them into the forest to gather rubber, forbidding them expressly to sell it to other traders; or makes them paddle his canoe; or takes them to his home when the harvest is over and puts them to work under his very eyes. He carries this odious exploitation practically to the point of slavery; denies them the right to go where they wish; and if by chance they secretly run away, he sets out after them and captures them by sheer force.

Many cultivators also have a certain number of Indians at their service and under their rule. I have seen many of these savages -- men, women and children -- forcibly retained in the homes of cultivators. When one of these creditors passes away, the Indian moves to the home of whoever happens to inherit his share of the debt. Once on the Upper Tapajoz I asked to whom an Indian "belonged" who interested me, and got the following reply: "We don't know yet, because the household of his former master, who died a short time ago, has not yet been parcelled out."

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucu pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucu household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically